A MODERATE AND Safe Expedient

To remove *Jealousies* and *Feares*, of any danger, or prejudice to this State, by the ROMAN CATHOLICKS *of this Kingdome*,

And to mitigate the censure of too much severity towards them.

With a great advantage of Honour and Profit to this State and Nation.

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A moderate and ſafe Expedient, &c.

IF it pleaſe the Parliament to take the condition of the *Roman Catholicks* into ſerious conſideration, they may, perhaps, finde cauſe to give them liberty of conſcience in England; or as much toleration, at leaſt, as people of that profeſsion have in Holland (which is little leſſe then a liberty of conſcience) although that State might perhaps finde more reaſon, then the State of England hath, to be jealous of ſuch perſons: but by experience, the Hollanders finde that way to ſucceed well with them. Nevertheleſſe, in caſe the Parliament ſhall not think fit to do ſo, they may be pleaſed to give to ſo many of them as will accept thereof, free & publick leave to tranſplant themſelves, families, and eſtates, into *Mariland*, a Province in America, above 3000 miles diſtant from England, upon theſe enſuing conſiderations, both of the reaſons for their departure, and of ſuch encouragements as are requiſite to enduce thoſe of that profeſſion here, voluntarily to tranſplant themſelves thither.

In regard they are conceived dangerous perſons

to this State (according to the Policy and Religion of the preſent government) it were better they ſhould willingly baniſh themſelves from hence, then that they ſhould continue here obnoxious to it; and ſo the intention of the lawes made againſt them (for and in reſpect of their Religion) may be with leſſe imputation of ſeverity fulfilled. For certainly the chief (if not only) end of thoſe lawes was to free this Kingdome, as much as might be, of ſuch perſons, and not to enrich the King, much leſſe to ſatisfie any thirſt of blood, no more, then of any other penall laws made againſt any ſubjects that are Proteſtants.

2 It may be doubted, that thoſe who live in pain will contrive and endeavour, by all the meanes they can, to eaſe themſeves: and therefore the more ready way to remove the fears and jealouſies which this State hath of the ſaid *Roman Catholicks*, is not to keepe them here under the heavie burthen of the penall Laws made againſt them for their Religion; but either to let them enjoy here the rights, and liberties of other free-born ſubjects; or elſe to give them leave to go into another countrey, where they may enjoy them.

3 That they ſhould, on that Condition, have leave alſo to diſpoſe of their eſtates here, aſwell as to goe from hence, is but juſt and reaſonable, and

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agreeing with good policy, For conformity to the Church of England (which at any time exempts them from the penalty of the ſaid lawes) and baniſhment, have both one effect, as to the prime end of thoſe Lawes, to wit, the decreaſe of Roman Catholiques in England, and it was not their being *Roman Catholiques*, but their being ſoe in England, which cauſed the ſaid lawes, wherefore, *ablata cauſa tollitur effectus*, in this caſe, may be a juſt plea for them, and their perſons, and eſtates, (without which they can ſubſiſt no where) have too neer a relation to one another to be voluntarily parted, ſo as to deny this, is (in effect) to deny them leave to go, & to force them away, without their eſtates, might make them have *animum revertendi*: which affection, in deſperate & diſcontented perſons, might perhaps be of ill conſequence to England. Moreover to give them leave to go, and to deny them leave to diſpoſe of their eſtates, might bring a diſhonourable imputation on this State, in making the World believe, that the lawes here againſt Recuſants were made, or at leaſt wiſe now made uſe of, for lucre only, and not for advancing the Goſpel. And the Honourable Houſes of Parliament may be pleaſed in this caſe of voluntary baniſhment, to allow the ſaid *Roman Catholicks* as much favour as the Spaniards did

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the Moores, in theirs, which was compulsive; who, notwithstanding, had free leave to dispose of their estates in Spaine, before their departure from thence. If the Parliament shall not think fit to let them dispose of all their estates, especially such as have born arms against them; then it may be required, that upon the sale, a competent proportion, of the value, be paid to the use of the State. And, no doubt, many good bargains will, by this means, be afforded to Protestant Purchasers, together with an unquestionable title, from the true owners.

4 To let them go to *Mariland*, is better, then that they should go into any Forein Princes Dominions; because it will not be for the honour, nor perhaps for the safety of England, to permit another Princes Territories to be supplyed with people, by any considerable number of the Natives of this Kingdome: Whereas the planting of the said *Roman Catholicks* in *Mariland* (wch hath a dependance on the Crown of England) Will conduce much to the honour and profit of this State and Nation, by enlarging the Dominions thereof, by encrease of trade and shipping, by vent of our native commodities, by importation of others, and, consequently, by improvement of customes; for they cannot subsist in *Mariland*, without yearly supplies of many ne-

neceſſaries from England, and, at ſo remote a diſtance, no danger from them to this Kingdome can rationally be feared: and they will certainly rather ſtay ſtill in England, in any condition, then go into any other of the Kings dominions where they cannot have the liberty of their conſcience, or be in any hazard of reſtraint thereof, either in preſent or future, for that were, but to exchange the place, and an enlargement of their miſeries.

Publick licenſe and approbation of the Parliament, to depart and make proviſions, is requiſite and neceſſary in this caſe, for them; and an Ordinance whereby they may be enabled, notwithſtanding other Ordinances, laws, & Sequeſtrations, as alſo *Entailes*, to diſpoſe of their eſtates here, and aſſured that they ſhall have no moleſtation in their paſſage from hence, nor in their reſidence and abode in *Mariland*, but all juſt protection from this State: and that they may freely enjoy there the benefit and priviledges of that government, which is appointed for that Province by his Majeſties Charter to the Lord *Baltemore*, a *Roman Catholick* (it being in the nature of a County Palatine depending on the Crowne of England, and inveſted, together with the land, in the ſaid Lord *Baltemore* and his heirs by patent in the 8th yeare of this Kings raigne) 5

that

that upon confidence thereof they may transplant themselves thither: For otherwise they will not dare to adventure upon such a designe, for fear that when, with much hazard, toile, and expence they shall have disposed of themselves that way, and perhaps made themselves uncapable of subsisting any where else; they may, through want of such assurances, be utterly ruined: and they had need to be very well secured of these encouragements, to help them to overcome many other difficulties and incommodities which attend a new Plantation.

6 This will much mitigate the censure which Forein States of that profession in Religion may have of this government, in respect of the severe proceedings against the said *Roman Catholicks* here, for their Religion. And may remove as well divers obstacles in future Treaties, with some of those States, which perhaps have heretofore arisen between this and them, in contemplation of the said Roman Catholicks; as all Designes which any such State may have upon them, for the disturbance of the peace of this Kingdome, while they remain under heavie burthens here: And this favor shewed unto them, will certainly oblige the said Roman Catholicks in a strong bond of fidelity, to their Native Countrey.

7 To conclude, by this means, a tender conscience shal not be violenced, a suspected party will be removed, an unity in this nation the more confirmed, an increase of the dominion of this Crown acquired; and, with these, the end of all those Laws against Recusants, *viz.* Their decrease in this Kingdom, more speedily brought to effect, which hath been long, but with smal successe, endeavoured.

Obiections Anſwered touching *MARILAND.*

IT may be Objected that the Lawes againſt the Roman Catholikes were made in order to their conformity to the Proteſtant Religion, for the good of their Soules, and by that meanes to free this Kingdome, of Popery, rather then of their perſons, but ſuch a Licence for them to depart this Kingdome and to go into *Mariland*, or any Country where they may have free liberty of their Religion, would take away all hopes of their conformity to the Church of *England.* *Object.* 1.

It is evident that Reaſon of State (for the ſafety of the King and Kingdome) more then of Religion, was the cauſe and end of thoſe *Lawes*, for there are no ſuch againſt divers other profeſſions of Religion in *England*, although they be as different from the *Doctrine* of the Proteſtant Church, eſtabliſhed by *Law*, in this Kingdome, as that of the Roman Catholiques is: And this Reaſon of State appeares alſo in the nature of moſt of thoſe Lawes, for they expreſſe great doubts and jealouſies of the ſaid Roman Catholiques affection to, and dependance on a Forraigne power, and tend therefore moſt of them, to diſinable them (by confining, diſarming, &c.) from plotting or doing any miſchiefe to the King or State, and to ſecure their allegiance to the King by oathes, &c. and the penalties of divers of them *Anſw.*

areabjuration of the Realme, which puts them out of the way of conformity to the Church of *England*. Moreover, converſion in matter of Religion, if it bee forced, ſhould give little ſatisfaction to a wiſe State of the fidelity of ſuch Convertites, for thoſe who for worldly reſpects will breake their Faith with God, doubtleſſe will doe it, upon a fit occaſion, much ſooner with men; and for voluntary converſions ſuch Lawes could be of no uſe, wherefore certainely the ſafety of King and Kingdome was the ſole ayme and end of them.

Object. 2. Such a Licence will ſeeme to be a kinde of tollera-tion of (at leaſt a connivence at Popery) which ſome may find a ſcruple of conſcience to allow of in any part of the Kings Dominions, becauſe they eſteem it a kinde of Idolatry, and may therefore conceive that it would ſcandalize their Brethren, and the Common people here.

Anſw. Such ſcrupulous perſons may aſwell have a ſcruple to let the Roman Catholiques live here, though it bee under perſecution, as to give way to ſuch a Licence, becauſe baniſhment from a pleaſant, plentifull, and ones owne native Country, into a Wilderneſſe, among Salvages and wild Beaſts, although it proceed (in a manner from ones own election) yet, in this caſe, where it is provoked by other wayes of perſecution, is but an exchange rather then a freedome of puniſhment, and perhaps, in ſome mens opinions, from one perſecution to a worſe, For divers Malefactors in this Kingdome, have choſen rather to be hanged then to goe into *Virginia*, when, upon that condition, they have bin offered their lives, even at the place of Execution, and

they

they may, with more ground, have a ſcruple of conſcience to let any of the ſaid Roman Catholiques to goe from hence into *France* (which few or none certainely can have in contemplation of Religion only, and this Parliament hath given Paſſes to divers of them for that purpoſe) hat being more properly the Kings Dominions then is all that great part of *North America*, (wherein *Marilavd* is included) unto which the Crown of *England* layes claime, upon the Title of diſcovery only, except ſuch part thereof as is actually ſeated and poſſeſſed by ſome of his Subjects, and therefore in the Preamble of the Lord *Baltemores* Patent of *Mariland*, the enlargement of the Kings Dominions is recited as a motive of the Grant, which inferres that it could not ſo properly bee eſteemed his Dominions before, as when, by vertue of ſuch a grant, it ſhould be planted by ſome of his Subjects, And if it be all the Kings Dominions notwithſtanding; then why have not ſuch ſcrupelous perſons a ſcruple, to ſuffer the Indians (who are undoubted Idolators) as they doe, to live there, which if they cannot conveniently prevent (as without queſtion they cannot, unleſſe it be by granting ſuch a Licence) they may aſwell ſuffer thoſe whom they eſteem Idolators, as thoſe whom they and all other Chriſtians whatſoever repute and know to be ſo, to inhabit and poſſeſſe that Country. Moreover they may alſo (aſwel as in this) have a ſcruple to treat or make, or continue a League, or to Trade with any Forraigners of that Religion, becauſe in their oppinions they are Idolators, or to permit the publique Miniſters of any ſuch Forraigne Prince or State to have the free exerciſe of their Religion, while they are in England, and may

feare giving ſcandall to others by ſuch tollerations or connivences: All which nevertheleſſe we ſee done, even in theſe times, and allowed of, aſwell by the Parliament as the King, upon reaſon of ſtate, for the good and ſafety of this Realme. So may this Licence bee alſo thought by ſuch perſons, a good expedient for the ſame purpoſe. And if any (of the weaker ſort) ſhould be ſcandalized at it, the ſcandal would be, *acceptum* not *datum*, and therefore not to be regarded by a wiſe and judicious Prince or State.

Object. 3. By it the Kings Revenue will be impaired, in looſing the benefit which the ſaid Lawes give him, out of Recuſants Eſtates, while they continue in *England* of that profeſſion of Religion.

Anſw. The end of thoſe Lawes was not the Kings profit, but (as is ſaid before) the freeing of this Kingdome of Recuſants which deprives the King of any benefit by them, ſo as his Majeſty will have no wrong don him by ſuch A Licence, becauſe he will looſe nothing by it, of what was intended him by the ſaid Lawes; this is no ancient Revenue of the Crowne, for it had inception but in Queene *Elizabeths* time, and conformity or alienation to a Proteſtant deprives the King of this Revenue, if there were no Crimes at all committed in *England*, the King would looſe many Fines, and confiſcations, whereby his Revenue would alſo be impaired (wch in the other, as well as in this branch of it, is but caſuall) and yet, without queſtion the King and State would both deſire it: the ſame reaſon holds in this, conſidering what opinion is had here of the Recuſants, wherefore it cannot, with good manners, be doubted that his Majeſty will, in this buſineſſe, preferre his own benefit,

before

before that which the State ſhall conceive to be convenient for his ſafety and the puqlique good.

It would much prejudice this Kingdome by drawing a conſiderable number of people, and tranſporting of a great deale of wealth, from hence. *Object.* 4.

The number of all the Recuſants in *England* is not ſo great, as that the departure of them all from hence would make any ſencible diminution of people in it, and their profeſſion in Religion would make them the leſſe miſſed here. If the number were great, then conſequently (according to the Maximes of this State) they were the more dangerous, and there would be the more reaſon, by this meanes, to leſſen it: And if it bee but ſmall (as indeed it is) then their abſence from hence would little prejudice the Kingdome in the decreaſe of people, nor will ſuch a Licence occaſion the tranſportation of much wealth out of *England*, for they ſhal not need to carry any conſiderable ſummes of money with them, nor is it deſired that they ſhould have leave ſo to do, but only uſefull things for a Plantation, as Proviſions for Cloathing, and Building, and Planting Tooles, &c. which will advantage this Kingdome by increaſe of Trade, and vent of its native Commodities, and transferre the reſt of their Eſtates, by Bills of Exchange, into Bankes beyond Sea, which tends alſo to the advantage of the Trade of England, for more ſtock by this meanes will be imployed in it. *Anſw.*

It may prove dangerous to *Virginea* and *New England*, where many Engliſh Proteſtants are planted, *Mariland* being Scituated betweene them both, becauſe it may be ſuſpected that the ſaid *Roman Catholiques* will bring in the Spaniards or ſome other Forraigne *Object.* 5.

Enemy to ſuppreſſe the Proteſtants in thoſe parts, or perhaps grow ſtrong enough to doe it of themſelves; or that in time (having the Government of that Province of *Mariland* in their hands) they may and will ſhake off any dependance on the Crowne of *England*.

Anſw. The Engliſh Colonies in *New-England* are at leaſt 500 miles, and that of *Virginea* 100 miles diſtant from *Mariland*, and it will be a long time before Planters can be at leiſure to think of any ſuch deſigne, and there is little cauſe to doubt, that any people, as long as they may live peaceably under their owne Government, without oppreſſion either in Spiritualls or Temporalls, will deſire to bring in any Forraigners to domineere over them, which miſery they would undoubtedly fall into, If any conſiderable Forraigne Prince or State (who are only in this caſe to be feared) had the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh Collonies in *Virginea* or *New England*, But the number of Engliſh Proteſtants alreàdy in *Virginea* and *New England*, together with the poverty of thoſe parts, makes it very improbable that any Forraigne Prince or State will bee tempted to undergoe the charge and hazard of ſuch a remote deſigne, it being well knowne that the Spaniſh Colonies in the Weſt Indies are farther diſtant then Europe is from thence; If any danger were to be ſuſpected, in that way, from the ſaid Recuſants, the like ſuſpition of bringing in a Forraigne Enemy into England, may (as indeed it hath often been) be had of them, while they are here, for the difference of ſcituation may ballance the difference of the power, betweene this Kingdome and thoſe parts, for the accompliſhing of ſuch a deſigne, and certainely (of the two) it were much better to throw

throw that hazard (if it were any) upon *Virginea* and *New England*, then to have it continue here; Much leſſe cauſe is there to feare that they ſhould grow ſtrong enough of themſelves to ſuppreſſe the Proteſtants in thoſe parts: For there are already at leaſt three times as many proteſtants there, as there are Roman Catholiques in all England, And the Proteſtants in *Virginea* and *New England* are like to increaſe much faſter, by new ſupplyes of people yearely from England, &c. Then are the *Roman Catholiques* in *Mariland*, Moreover although they ſhould, (which God forbid, and which the Engliſh Proteſtants in thoſe parts will in all probability be ſtill able to prevent) ſhake off any dependance on the Crowne of England; yet, firſt England would, by this meanes, be freed of ſo many ſuſpected perſons now in it: Secondly it would looſe little by it: And laſtly, even in that caſe, it were notwithſtanding more for the Honour of the Engliſh Nation, that Engliſh men, although Roman Catholiques, and although not dependant on the Crowne of England, ſhould poſſeſſe that Country then Forraigners, who, otherwiſe, are like to doe it: for the Swedes and Dutch have two ſeverall Plantations already in New England, and upon the Confines of *Mariland*, (betweene the Engliſh Colonies in *New-England* and *Mariland*) and doe incroach every day more and more upon that continent, where there is much more Land then all the Kings Proteſtant Subjects in all his Dominions, (were they there) would be able to poſſeſſe: But the aſſurance of protection from the Crowne and State of England, upon all juſt occaſions, either of danger from A Forraigne Enemy, or

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of wrongs which may be done unto them by his Majesties Protestant Subjects in those parts, and the benefit of Trade with England for yearly supplies, without which they will not be able to subsist, will be strong tyes, if there were no other, to binde them to continue their dependance on it.

Moreover the Mouth of the Bay of *Chesapeacke*, being but narrow, and at which all ships that come to Mariland must enter, is within the precincts and power of the Colony of Virginea: and the Planters of Virginea, will by the accesse of so many Neighbours be much advantaged, because their Cattle & many other commodities, which they abound in, and have no vent for. and which this new Colony will stand in need of, will, by this meanes, yeeld them good rates, which now are of little value to them, wherefore certainly they will feare no prejudice, but will be glad of such a market for improvement of their estates: though perhaps some petty Marchants heere, traders to Virginea, may conceive it prejudicial to them, and therefore may make religion, and other vaine pretences of danger to Virginea, or this state, the cloake of their avarice, to hinder this designe; whereas, in truth, it can bee nothing else, but feare of increase of the Commodities, they deale in, and consequently of an abatement of the prices, that may incline them to oppose it.

FINIS.

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